H. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Limitation of Sanctuary

NOTE ON DAKHÁLA

In discussing the law of *dakhála* with Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra, head of the Rukhman section of the Mutair on 6.2.39, the latter told me that in the matter of *dakhála*, the Mutair, Qahtan and 'Utaiba granted *dakhála* to any member of their own tribe who asked for it, for a set period of twelve months, and the *dakhil* could wander about with entire safety in his particular tribe for this period and could go anywhere without danger of molestation provided he did not go beyond the confines of the tribal *dirah*.

The 'Ajman, he said, had the same rule, but the *dakhil* must not leave the vicinity of the tents or tent of the person affording him *dakhála* and should camp alongside him as his *qasír* or tent neighbour, thus getting double protection.

The Shammar, Dhafir, Harb and 'Awazim tribes on the other hand granted *dakhála* only for three days and three nights, and then were obliged to help the *dakhil* make good his escape to a safe place or person indicated by himself. This rule, he said, was also followed by nearly all the riverain tribes in Iraq.

He asserted that a woman had no *wejh*, and so could not grant *dakhála* to any person unless her husband was absent from his tents. In such circumstances she could give refuge to a man making his *dakhála* to her.

Lastly he told me that a Mutairi breaking another Mutairi's *dakhála* (i.e. harming his *dakhil* in any way) entitled the man giving the *dakhála* to raid the aggressor's tents seven times, kill as many men as he could of the aggressor's family, and kill as many camels as he could with full impunity and with no ill consequences to himself. (*Illu il haq i sabbahu saba marrat.*)

A point to note here is that he may not carry off camels, but must kill them, lest he be accused of cupidity when just vengeance is what he seeks.

camels to draw up the water, but the southern Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to either end of the rope which runs over the pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full the other descends empty. Men and women draw together on the well-ropes, four or five to each rope, singing in chorus as they work. We had not been here long before the camel herds arrived and the serious work of watering began. Great leather troughs supported on crossed wooden hoops were set up by each family around the well. Soon there was no room for more watering parties, and late-comers had to wait their turn. The buckets rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs about which the thirsty camels pushed and thrust while their calves frolicked around. Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran in and out among them, driving away camels which did not belong to them, and restraining the more impatient of their own. Others scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite beasts, while they sang them their watering songs to induce them to drink deep. When they had drunk they were couched nearby, to be watered again later in the day, before being driven back to pasturage. Round the well-mouth women filled their water-skins, which then lay swollen and quivering upon the ground, guarded from the trampling feet of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad only in a leather fringe around their waists. Few of the women were veiled and all joined freely in the constant jests and laughter. Among them was a tall girl of startling beauty. She had come down to the well early in the day, carrying a water-skin and accompanied by her young sister. The centre of a happy laughing group of lads, she dallied here till the evening.

A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains were camped under an overhanging cliff nearby, and they bade us join them and drink coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'aruf, they yet differed from them in their dress and way of life. They were indigo-dyed loincloths and wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin Ma'aruf were clad like the Northern Arabs in long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell nearly to the ground. They were returning to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days' journey to the south. Flourishing crops of sorghum and beans are grown there in a shallow valley, guarded by numerous stone-built forts and watch-towers, which look out across the desolate rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for treachery.

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saddle depicted by Nachtigal the fore and the aft trees being connected by two horizontal or oblique sticks instead of two crossed sticks at each side (*Le Coeur* 1930, p. 173). This saddle type is also depicted from the Tebu by Moberg and Fuchs (Moberg 1953, p. 182; Fuchs 1961, p. 39), and I have myself seen a saddle like this among camel-owning Fulani at Niamey on the Niger. A related saddle type with fore and aft trees at each side connected with two horizontal sticks, is depicted by Heuglin from North-east Africa (Heuglin 1877, I, p. 26). It is perhaps the common saddle type in and around the Beja country.

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The saddle corresponding to the *tebeyut* or *tkhewit* type of the Northern Tuareg is known by the Arabic word *hasse* among the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while among the Arabs of North Africa the word *hasse* is generally used for women's saddles of the same fundamental construction. Pack saddles of *tebeyut* or *tkhewit* type are known to the Arabs of Algeria as *hawj*. However, such saddles do not seem to be common among Arabs of Algeria, where I have never seen them, though they are probably used by Arabs of Upper Egypt and in Sinai (cf. Murray 1935, p. 116).

In Arabia saddles constructionally resembling the *tebeyut* or *tkhewit* type are extremely common. They are used as pack-saddles and also for riding. There seem to be three distinct Arabic names for them:— (1) a sadle known as *sdad* (or *shadad*) and characterized by particularly high pommels; it is used mainly as a riding saddle (cf. Bouchemaa 1934, p. 35 ff., Fig. 9–11; Musil 1928b, p. 350 ff., Figs. 37, 44; Euting 1906, p. 394 ff., Ill. p. 393, 397; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (2) a saddle known as *mismar* constructionally of the same type, but having no high pommels; it is very much like the *tebeyut* or *tkhewit* type described from the Northern Tuareg (cf. Bouchemaa 1934, p. 61 f., Fig. 23; Musil 1928b, p. 354, Fig. 41; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (3) a saddle known as *rahit* of very much the same type as the *mismar* saddle but of a somewhat heavier construction (cf. Musil 1928b, p. 354; Euting 1906, p. 398, Ill. p. 394). The two last mentioned saddles are mainly pack-saddles but they are also used for riding. The distribution of the saddle types *sdad*, *mismar* or *rahit* in Arabia seems to be as follows:—

The Syrian Desert; the tribes *She'a* and *Rwala* (cf. Bouchemaa 1934 & Musil 1928b quoted above).
Hedjaz; *sdad* (Musil 1926, Figs. 30, 84, 85, etc.).
Nejd; *sdad* (Musil 1928a, Figs. 8, 22, 28, 62, 63); *mismar* or *rahit* (Musil 1928a, Fig. 15).
Irak; *sdad* (Musil 1927b, Figs. 1, 19, 33, etc.).
Kuwait; *mismar* or *rahit* (Rasmkiær 1913, Fig. 21; Dickson 1949 quoted above).
South Arabia; *sdad*; the tribes of *Mawra*, *Se'ar*, and *Hawak*. Riding saddles of the *sdad* type are not found east of Dhufar (Thomas 1932, p. 268).

It would appear that a riding saddle of the *sdad* type is depicted in a 9th century B.C. relief at Tell Halaf (cf. Dossal 1958, p. 2, pl. I Fig. 2).

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The common pack-saddle among the Northern Tuareg is the *dikki* (cf. p. 74 f., Fig. 55). This saddle type, as mentioned, is not made by the Tuareg themselves, but normally by sedentary *Barnawa* of Tidikelt where palm material is abundant, more rarely by blacksmiths who make the construction of wood, and not from the ribs of date palms. The *dikki* is the common saddle type all

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The Elaki is the common saddle type all
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● 171 over the northern desert inhabited by Arabs. It is known to Algerian Arabs as *hawiyya*, the word also used in Tripolitania where the type is extremely common (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457). Saddles of entirely identical types occur among the Moors of Mauretania (Monteil 1952, p. 92), among Arabs of Upper Egypt (Klunzinger 1878, p. 206, Fig. 11; Murray 1935, p. 116), and in the Egyptian Sudan (Marno 1874, p. 207). Further east it seems to be in use among most, perhaps all, Arabs:— Sinai (Murray 1935, p. 116), Syrian Desert (*Shu'a* and *Rwala*) (Bouchenan 1934; Musil 1928b), Hedjas (Musil 1926, Figs. 9, 15, 30, 59, 84), Negd (Musil 1928a, Fig. 66), Irak (Musil 1927b, Fig. 40). These Arabs generally call the saddle *hedjije*. It is perhaps common to all Arabs including those of Southern Arabia. However, the *hedjije* or *hawiyye* is not mentioned from Kuweit by Dickson, who describes from this region a peculiar saddle of somewhat related type used mainly for riding and having Oman as its homeland. The saddle is named *al falawi*; it consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches fixed in front of the animal's hump by means of a girth, and a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress which is placed over the back behind the hump and fastened to the little saddle-frame with cords (Dickson 1949, p. 87). The same type of riding saddle is depicted by Thesiger from Oman and adjacent parts of South Arabia (Thesiger 1959, Fig. 12 p. 33), and Mr. Klaus Ferdinand has informed me that he has seen only this type of riding saddle around Qatar. It would seem natural to derive the *al falawi* riding saddle from a pack saddle of *hawiyya* or *hedjije* type the more so because riding saddles for camels and horses seem frequently to have developed from saddles used for transportation. Dostal's theory that the riding saddle of *al falawi* type is very ancient and constitutes the proto-type of other Arabian saddles is very queer (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2 ff.). In North-west Africa there is a peculiar type of pack-saddle which resembles the *hawiyya* or *hedjije* saddles. It consists of two curved pieces of wood united by broad side-boards and by two small sticks inserted into holes at the upper part of the curved arches. This saddle-frame is placed before the camel's hump and is fixed to two pieces of plaited mattresses. Saddles of this kind are found in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris from the borderland of Algeria and Morocco (no. 38.190.80), from the Regueibat of Northern Mauritania (no. 38.133.6), and from the *Ida w Aish* Moors around Tidjika of Southern Mauretania (no. 38.136.58) (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 92).

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492 Saddles of the *hawiyya* or *hedjije* type (*khaki* to the Northern Tuareg) seem to be unknown to the Southern Tuareg. The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is that called *awaki*, consisting of one curved piece attached to two flat side-boards by means of which the whole structure is attached to two pads or mat cylinders fixed each side of the camel (cf. p. 76). This very simple wooden structure is found not only in Ayr but also among the *Jellabmenaden Kel Dennik* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 47 f, p. 178). Nicolas also depicts two other simple wooden structures for pack-saddles. One of them consists of two pieces of wood lashed together at the upper and narrow ends, the broader lower ends being attached to pads or mats; the other one is of similar type but is made from one single piece of wood – probably from a heavy forked stick (Nicolas 1950a, Figs. 47 g & h, p. 178). A saddle consisting of an angular piece of wood like that just mentioned, but attached to two flat sideboards, is in the Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel (no. 48.2.63); it is manufactured in the Sudan within the Tuareg area.

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[177] The *khaki* saddle of the Northern Tuareg is probably an Arab culture trait. It occurs among the